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CONTENTS.

Editorial Notes 225

Leading Article:

The Satyagraha and the Duty of the Government 228

Other Article:

World Forces By 'Workman' 229

Topics From Periodicals:

The Tarot and Secret Tradition 229
Vocational Education 230
Mr. Winston Churchill 231

Selections:

History of Shivaji, 1667-1670 233

Advertisements: 235—240

We may be permitted to state that the views of our contributors and correspondents do not necessarily reflect the policy of the Wednesday Review.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Hon. Mr. T. Rangachari must have been labouring under a confusion of ideas when he moved his resolution at the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council recommending that early steps be taken to control the export of oil-seeds from this Presidency. His idea is that if ground-nut was not allowed to be exported, it might be used as oil and also converted into an article of food. In the first place, there are no facilities for oil-pressing at present, and it will take time to import the requisite machinery. If in the meanwhile an embargo were placed on ground-nut at the suggestion of the honorable member, it would be an unmerited hardship to the ryots who have large stocks of ground-nut on hand. It was pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Subbarayulu Reddiar who comes from a district noted for its extensive cultivation of the ground-nut that large quantities of the nut were rotting in the country. If there be restrictions on the export, that would only make matters worse. Besides, it is not likely that ground-nut oil will replace kerosine for lighting purposes. Castor or cocoanut oil is generally preferred. In the next place, the conversion of the ground-nut into a wholesome food is no easy matter. Evidently Mr. Rangachariar based his suggestion on the casual reports which he might have read in the papers of certain experiments in Bombay in that direction. But nothing was attempted on a commercial scale and we shall have to wait for a long while yet before we can expect ground-nut food placed in the market. Having these vague possibilities behind his head, the honorable member made his impracticable recommendation. As Mr. Thonger said in reference to another resolution, the effect of a legal mind entering an economic situation was a matter for continued enjoyment.

Although Mr. Rangachari's resolution is premature and his suggestion impracticable at present, something must be done to promote oil-pressing industry here. There is good scope for it both by private enterprise and State help. In the districts where the ground-nut is chiefly cultivated, the ryots may be encouraged to set up small oil-presses for which loans on easy terms may be given. The rules under the Loans Acts provide for the purchase of small plants for cane-crushing. There will be no difficulty to extend the rule to oil-presses. Oil-pressing is in a very crude state now involving a great deal of avoidable waste. Mr. Wood told the Council that Mr. Tressler had investigated the possibilities of putting up oil-seed crushing installations at the beginning of the war and found that would be very expensive. We should like to have more particulars as to that. The war has not only rendered the prices of ironware prohibitive and the import of machinery impossible. But with the signing of the peace, more normal conditions may be expected. It will then be possible to indent for the necessary machinery. It will be well if the Government can set up model factories for oil-seed crushing, but we suppose the policy

laid down by the Secretary of State is against it. There can be no objection, however, to the Government giving loans to ryots for the purpose at favourable rates of interest and to be repaid in annual instalments. After all, the stimulus must come from Indian capitalists themselves. There is little use in talking big on the platform and doing nothing to promote indigenous industries. Without levying an export duty on oil-seeds, it is just possible to promote oil-pressing industry and place it on a remunerative basis, as there is good demand in Europe and elsewhere for refined oils, especially ground-nut oil which is used largely for medicinal purposes and for perfumery.

The Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyer was responsible for a great waste of time of the Council with his impossible resolutions. We suppose he saw that the battle of the vernaculars could not be won by his walking out of the Council Chamber and ruminating over the ingratitude of his Indian colleagues for three hours on end. Instead of suddenly exploding a number of vernacular sentences in the Council and being snubbed for his pains by his fellow Councillors, the honorable member moved a resolution recommending to His Excellency in Council that steps should be taken to requisition the presence at future meetings of the Council, of interpreters or translators in the chief vernaculars of this province and of short-hand reporters in those languages. It is a mercy that Mr. Narasimha Aiyer confined his suggestion to the vernaculars of Madras. His pan-Indian patriotism might have suggested to him that interpreters for all the dialects spoken in India should be requisitioned so that the inhabitant of Quetta or the Santal in Assam might have equal opportunity with the Andhra of Madras or the Maharatta of Bombay, of being enlightened on the doings of the Madras Council. Perhaps, a later resolution of the honorable member may embrace All-India. Meanwhile the modest limitations of the resolution do not seem to have been properly appreciated. Practically the resolution was talked out or laughed out of the Council. The speech of the honorable mover in support of his resolution was curious reading. He said if the national language was given a chance it would replace English. If there was a national language Mr. Narasimha Aiyer's resolution would have been acclaimed as reflecting the acme of political wisdom. When he was making his speech, he forgot the terms of his resolution. According to the resolution, he wanted a host of interpreters to be requisitioned, but in the course of his speech, he referred to the national language. As was said of a British statesman by an opponent Mr. Narasimha Aiyer seems to have been overwhelmed by his own verbosity and lost his bearings. Frankly, it will be criminal waste of public money to hire interpreters to translate speeches like Mr. Narasimha Aiyer's for the delectation of an imaginary reader. Except a very few persons who have to, nobody cares to follow the proceedings of the Legislative Council closely whether reported in English or in the vernaculars. What all that may be done is as Sir Alexander Cardew pointed out, communiques of the Government on subjects like the prices of food-stuffs might be published in the vernacular.

We are glad that the Madras Government accepted the resolution moved at the last meeting of the Legislative Council by the Hon. Mr. Siva Rao recommending that early legislation may be started to organise village panchayats in the Presidency. His main contention was that the panchayats should be placed on a better financial basis and also granted powers of administration. In this regard, the Madras Government have been somewhat chary and have been looking to voluntary efforts for the spread of the panchayat system. In spite of Mr. Rajagopalachari's opinion to the contrary, the progress of the panchayat since they issued their Order on the subject in 1915 cannot be said to be satisfactory and that is because the Revenue Divisional Officers, in the midst of their varied work, are expected to go down to the villages, and persuade the villagers to form themselves into panchayats. The divisional officers naturally enough entrusted the Thasildars who as they have been aptly called by a Bombay civilian are the camels of the service and have to carry heavy loads of all descriptions, and it must not be surprising that in the matter of forming panchayats they have been perfunctory. We know of one Thasildar who went in hot-haste to a village, called round him half a dozen villagers, explained to them that he had been asked by his divisional officer to form them into a panchayat if possible and wound up by saying that in his view the panchayat was a nuisance. On such efforts the Government depend for pushing on the panchayat system. Mr. Rajagopalachari said at the Council that so far as he could gather from the reports available, he would say the working of the voluntary panchayats was distinctly encouraging. But we have good reason to think otherwise.

The fault is neither with the Government nor with their agents who have been entrusted with the task of creating panchayats. It is with the character of the panchayats which the Government are inclined to promote. It is only when the panchayats are placed on a statutory basis that real progress can be made. The Madras Government have attempted the solution of the problem by fits and starts, and piecemeal. They have not so far tried to tackle it comprehensively and in a liberal spirit. They have been content to give their sanction to the formation of panchayats for irrigation, forest, etc., and they have been fighting shy of entrusting panchayats with administrative functions. Panchayats for particular purposes will not do, and the chances are that the panchayatdars will use their position to their own advantage and not for the common good of the village community. The Madras Government must give up this attitude of experimenting in dribblets so to say and that is why we think they have been unconscionably long over the experiment and have not quite made up their minds as to what they

should do. The Government should be prepared to form panchayats for every considerable village or a group of villages, entrusted with the duty of looking after the requirements of a village as a whole and invest them with powers to decide petty civil and criminal suits. The village under the panchayat system should be a self-contained administrative unit and that should be the aim of any legislation which the Government may undertake. We understand that a special officer will be deputed to draft a bill in the light of experience. We think it will be better if a small commission be appointed along with the special officer to visit a number of selected villages, study their requirements on the spot and then proceed to the drafting of the necessary legislation. For some years past we have been urging upon the Madras Government the desirability of the appointment of such a commission to inquire into the whole problem of village improvement. Now there is an opportuniy we trust the Government will favorably consider the suggestion and appoint a commission who will work in cooperation with the special officer who may be deputed for the purpose.

The problem of the beggar in India is not easy of solution, especially as a section of the population by no means small, is on the verge of beggary. In spite of this circumstance, the problem has not fortunately assumed the ugly proportions it has assumed in European countries and is not likely to. The analogy of the poor-law in England will not apply to India as the religious and social conditions here are so different. While we have considerable sympathy for the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. T. Rangachari at the last session of the Madras Legislative Council and have no doubt that those who voted for the resolution were actuated by the most humanitarian motives, we must at the same time admit that the Government's attitude in the matter was the only one possible. If the Government should undertake the relief of the beggar, they will have to depend mainly upon the local bodies to organise the necessary relief and the local bodies will have to impose local rates to meet the extra expenditure which is sure to prove a big strain on their resources. For obvious reasons, the relief provided for by them will be abused and it is best that the matter be left to private charity. As a matter of fact, the traditions of charity for which India has been noted can be trusted to do more for the poor and the maimed that any State relief can be expected to do. At present there are a number of charitable institutions maintained by private munificence, which afford a not inconsiderable relief for the poor. Mr. Rangachari's resolution was something of a tall order and it is certainly not possible for any Government to organise relief on the scale suggested by him.

But the case is different with respect to those who are afflicted with loathsome and contagious diseases and who have to depend upon charity to drag on their miserable existence. Some organisation is necessary to afford an asylum for such and here State intervention is necessary. The danger to the health of the society is incalculable in letting loose lepers and others suffering from contagious diseases. In every big city the problem has become acute enough for the State to step in and do whatever is necessary. It is a hideous spectacle which one meets at every turn in thickly populated areas. The lepers go about everywhere they please; they are suffered to pollute rivers, bathing places, etc. and spread the contagion without any check. It is not uncommon to see even eating houses and sweet-meat shops presided over by leprous proprietors and frequented by lepers. It is a perfect scandal and ought not to be tolerated any longer. But even if State relief is provided for them in the shape of asylums, there is no law compelling the lepers to go to an asylum. There can be no effective checking of the evil without stringent legislative measures. Considerations of humanity ought not to deter the Government from doing their obvious duty to the society. There is grave danger to public health by allowing lepers to be at large. If they are with sufficient means of subsistence they may be allowed to be taken care of by their families, provided they are properly segregated and the chances of contagion are minimised. But in the case of poor lepers who live on street charity, there must be some law to compel them to seek admission into asylums provided for them. It is only here that State relief is necessary and we trust the resolution moved at the Madras Council will serve to direct the attention of the Government to a problem which we should think has been neglected only too long.

If we remember right, at a conference of the Directors of Agriculture it was suggested that provincial boards of agriculture might be started, consisting of officials and non-officials with a view to popularise improved methods of agriculture and co-operate with the Department in its work. The suggestion, we believe, was approved by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were addressed on the matter. From what the Hon. Mr. P. Rajagopalachariar said at the Madras Council, it would appear that the Director of Agriculture did not favor the idea of a provincial board. We should like to know the reasons of the Director for opposing the formation of a board. Mr. Rajagopalachariar has, however, promised to refer the matter back to the Director, and we may expect a more favourable opinion from him this time. In this connection we must caution the Government against bringing into existence an ornamental board consisting of members who have no direct interest in agriculture and who have had no practical knowledge of agricultural conditions and requirement of the country. The same mistake that was made in starting agricultural associations, none of which survives to-day, ought not to be repeated in forming the Agricultural Board. The associations consisted chiefly of those who belonged to the learned professions and who did not know a cucumber from a cabbage, and no wonder that the associations did no work and died of sheer inanition. In forming the Agricultural Board, care should be taken to bring in only those who are keenly interested in the agricultural development of the province and show an honest desire to give a helping hand in the work of the Department. There is ample scope for a board of the kind suggested by the Government of India, and it cannot be difficult to secure the services of at least half a dozen non-officials for it. The experiment is worth trying and we trust the Director will have no objection to a trial being made.

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THE SATYAGRAHA AND THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

EVEN those who did not see any evil in Satyagraha and were disposed to look upon it as the harmless fad of a dreamy idealist must have been rudely disillusioned by the tragic happenings at Delhi, Amritsar and other centres. Mr. Gandhi must himself now see that he woefully miscalculated the chances of the movement which he initiated proving as innocuous as he expected it would. We give him full credit for the sublimity of his ideals and the honesty of his motives. But he assumed too much when he assured the country that his movement would be directed exclusively by soul-force and no grosser factor would be allowed to get into it. But directly he initiated the movement, it got out of hand completely and altogether, and he finds it impossible to exorcise the devil he has raised. He cannot disclaim responsibility for the excesses committed by mobs pressed into the service of the Satyagraha by himself and his lieutenants. If Mr. Gandhi should now plead that when he started the movement he did not foresee or bargain for such excesses he must confess that he is unable to read the mind of the mob and honestly declare it to be at an end or retire from it immediately. Instead, he merely said at Bombay, that considering all the circumstances, the movement might have to be given a different and still more restricted shape. That does not sound like repentance of his folly. Every moment the Satyagraha is kept on by him adds to his responsibility for the misdeeds committed in its name. If the main purpose of the movement is to get the Rowlatt legislation vetoed by His Majesty's Government, any hope that way must have disappeared by the reply of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons to a question on the subject. Mr Gandhi cannot say that he is prepared to direct the movement against His Majesty and keep up the campaign till His Majesty is compelled to withhold his Royal Assent to the Rowlatt Acts. The reply of the Secretary of State takes away the last shred of excuse for carrying on the passive resistance campaign. It is futile to attempt to explain away the happenings at Amritsar and other places as showing the resentment of the mobs against the Rowlett Acts. Nobody will believe in that. The mobs are as ignorant of the provisions of the Acts as they are of any other legislative measure. There is no mincing the fact that the lawlessness is the outcome of the Satyagraha whether Mr Gandhi meant it or not; and if it were not for the movement which he has promoted, there would not have been this sad tragedy. The situation is most serious in all conscience. How do the Government propose to meet it? Hereafter it will be criminal folly to sit quiet and allow the poison to spread and work havoc on peaceful citizens whom it is the first duty of any civilized Government to protect against mob violence. That the passive resistance movement which is no longer what its sponsors claimed it to be but a monster breathing murder and arson, must be ended at once, is beyond dispute or debate. The stage is past of discussing the ethics of the movement. The Government and the people affected by it are only concerned in ending it in the quickest time possible. There are only three ways of ending Satyagraha. If Mr. Gandhi may be prevailed upon to cryhalt, the movement will stop unless of course there are other forces at work which Mr. Gandhi is not aware of or has no control over. If for conscientious objections he refused to say the word, and if the Government believe that the Rowlatt Legislation has been the occasion of the disturbance and by rescinding the Act, the Satyagraha will come to an end, we should ask the Government if it would not be advisable to take that step, that is, if there is no constitutional impediment in the way of the Secretary of State advising His Majesty to withhold Royal assent to the Act especially after his reply in Parliament to Mr. Swan's question. We don't see any useful purpose in maintaining on the statute book a piece of legislation which the Government propose to keep in perpetual abeyance unless their hands are forced to put it in operation and for the existence of which they are constantly apologising. If they find no present use for the Act, they may as well expurge it from the statute book if that would ease the situation. Failing these two alternatives, the only thing left for the Government to do is to give up their attitude of passive resistance to Satyagraha, the folly of which must be apparent to them now and grapple with the situation like any strong and self-respecting Government ought to. Threatening speeches and fire-breathing communiques will not avail any longer. The situation is too serious for these remedies. Measures must be taken as would make impossible the recurrence of such lawless deeds as have been reported from Amritsar and elsewhere. Even the prestige of the Government is of secondary importance in comparison to the safety of the lives of peaceful citizens on whom the Satyagraha mobs have been let loose. If at Amritsar and Delhi there have been disturbances on a serious scale, in most other places where the Satyagraha day was observed, there have been petty tyrannies practised over innocent shopkeepers who did not really fall in with the

suggestion of the promoters to close their places of business and join them in celebrating Satyagraha. Except from a few places reports of such happenings have not reached the newspapers and the Government need not think that the disturbances have been confined only to some centres. If reports are called for by the Government, they will see the extent of the evil which from a mistaken policy of conciliation and tolerance they have done nothing to check. Will the Government at least now realise their responsibility and take effective steps to put an end to a situation which may easily develop into a sanguinary revolution?

WORLD FORCES.

By 'Workman'.

When elected representatives of a State aspiring to power as Nationalists understand the position of Nations in the World's ordinary work and Government, they are likely to view with a fair sense of proportion the claims put forward by their constituents to decide domestic policy made without reference to Foreign relations, and World forces in action affecting it.

One of the great forces to be reckoned with, is International Competition either for power or profit. We had the Kshattria Government of Germany aiming at military domination of all other Nations with a policy of seizing all sources of Capital Production belonging to the neighbours.

As long as the World patiently suffered this policy no Local Government was immune from the liability to be attacked.

Combined with militarism was the design for Economic and Financial Centralisation of power and profit on Prussia.

No Nation could be immune from 'Peaceful Penetration' by spoils and strategems, unless it could guard itself against financial seductions of the foreigner aiming at Trade supremacy and Commercial entanglements liable to lead a Nation to bankruptcy.

The mentality of those peoples desiring to compete through spoils and devil's strategems, takes form in seditions, and fomenting treasons in Foreign States, by which their Governments may be weakened and their peoples demoralised.

The wolf in sheep's clothing here has its uses. Since the perfect ideal is nowhere realisable in temporal matters, the strategic perfection of diplomacy is reached by the adoption of a bogus spirituality accounted superior to that of other Nations, and under color of which the evil in the Governments or the Ministers of Independent States may be demonstrated.

The agents for this propaganda are easily bought in the ranks of the Nations themselves to be secretly attacked. It is shown in the *Statesman* of 21st March how Germany chose Lenin in 1914 as the arch conspirator, and backed him with a bribe of £ 25,000 to form a group in Switzerland 'a Neutral country' to invade Russia, their own country, with a propaganda of treason to the Government.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations for the government of Europe to stop all these villainies may be, it is certain that they cannot be taken as already having established 'Peace'.

The same influences will be working from Germany as before unless the League of European Nations succeeds in liberating the German States from the thraldom of Empire or any Federal or Fiscal system, that will preserve to it a great monopol yof power or profit in Central Europe.

When we know all this, the tremendously onerous responsibilities of Governments begin to be realised; and with all the protestations of loyalty of peoples, the only substantial use of it is when they put their backs to the work of supporting their governments and exposing the seditionists.

In the knowledge of an innate sense of Loyalty, there may seem to be no reason for Powers to be conferred on Governments to protect themselves and their States by organised preparatory measures. Philanthropy could seldom descend to greater folly.

The loyal have nothing to fear from their own governments, but much to fear from the machinations of the agents of other governments, and those waifs and strays of all Nations who thrive on world disorders and universal unrest.

The problem of the moment is that of 'World Government' to stop all this; and demands the best energies of all peoples to see the business through.

To preserve the purity of the Home is an essential preliminary to an honored place in the scheme of World Government of all homes. It is only the evil thought that prevents this being realised, and Nationality being universally protected by a system of World Government.

In the Principle of Leagues of Nations and the practical steps being taken to work upto it in Europe there is the promise of the world being ruled by the Intelligence of Humanity instead of its Passions.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

THE TAROT AND SECRET TRADITION.

The occult tradition of the Tarot is concerned with cartomancy in so far as it belongs to the manipulation and play of the cards for fortune-telling, but it has also a curious astrological side. The mystical tradition is confined to the Trumps Major, which I have termed the Greater Arcana in my two handbooks. The occult tradition leads no one anywhere, and its mode of practice in respect of the cards is—I am told—little, if anything, better than the published kinds—so far as results are concerned. I am not of course adjudicating on this question: as a mystic I should regard all such results as worthless. A prognostication which turns out amazingly correct is of no more consequence to the soul of man than

another which proves far from the mark. The occult astrology of the Tarot has naturally its divinatory side, but it is not without traces of another and deeper intention. I should think it likely that the occult tradition will "leak out," as the saying is, one of these days for it has passed through various hands which do not seem to respect it. The mystical aspect may be explained most readily as belonging to Kabalistic theosophy, and has proved illuminating to many on the mystic quest, provided that they happen to find help in symbolism. It is precisely the same here as it is in the Churches and secret societies like Masonry. Certain are aided by its pageants of ritual, while to others they are little better than a rock of offence. The Eighteenth Degree of Rose-Croix is a hopeless adventure for those to whom ritual speaks no language, but so also is a Pontifical High Mass. Moreover, such good people would probably be well advised not to concern themselves about the mystical tradition of Tarot cards. They are not for such reason to be relegated to a lower scale and those of an opposite temperament have no warrant for assuming superiority. No one is further from God because the *Ode Written in Dejection* by Coleridge carries no message to his heart. There is no off or near side of the Kingdom of Heaven by these alternatives of inward character.

Such being the nature of the Tarot tradition in its two aspects there remains to be said that it has no information to offer on the time, place or circumstances of Tarot origins, nor on the question of its importation into Europe, supposing that it came from the East. There are of course expressions of opinion on the part of people who know the occult tradition, but I have not found that they are of more consequence than those of outside speculation. Speaking generally my experience of all such traditions, when they happen to make a claim on history, is that they present mere figments of invention. The great mass of Masonic Rites and Orders have fraudulent traditional claims, and those of most Rosicrucian Societies are equally mendacious myths. Among notable exceptions are the Regime Eccosais et Rectifie—which includes the important Grades of Novice and Knight Beneficent of the Holy City—the Military and Religious Order of the Temple, the Order of Rose-Croix of Hendover, and one mystical society which is referable in the last resort to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. An regards Craft Masonry it has worked out its own redemption by emerging from the Anderson period and its foolish fictions. If it be worth while to say so, by way of conclusion to this part of my subject, the Tarot tradition—whether mystical or occult—bears no marks of antiquity. It would not signify how old they were if they had no other claim or value, while if they offer light on any questions of the soul, it matters nothing if they are of yesterday.

On their mystical side the Trumps Major offer most notable differences from any of the known recensions, including those of Miss Colman Smith. It will be obvious than I can offer no details; but Death, the Hanged Man, the Sun and Fool are among notable cases in point. I have said, now long ago, (1) that there are vague rumours concerning a begher meaning in the minor cards but (2) they have never yet been translated into another language than that of fortune-telling. Yet one knows not all that is doing nor always that which has been done, so it is well to add that I spoke within the measures of my own acquaintance—though I have had more than usual opportunities. In any case, the four suits of Wads, Cups, Swords and Pentacles have two strange connexions in folk-lore to one of which I drew attenation briofly in *The Hidden Church of the Holly Graal.* So far as my recollection goes, I have not mentioned the other in any published work. *The Occult Review.*

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

By social competency I mean the necessity for a certain surrounding atmosphere and spirit in connexion with the industrial and physical training, the necessity for methods of training, the necessity for methods of industrial management and operation which will promote civic efficiency and the co-operative spirit. The industry should be run as far as possible on a democratic basis. Co-operation in respect to sharing in products or in profits is not nearly so important as the co-operation in the method of management. The aim should be to secure training of persons in and for groups. This means, of course, putting individuals in positions of responsibility as rapidly as they are prepared to take it, to give them the experience of directing, of leading as well as of being led, so as to initiate the individuals into what at the present time are so largely the mysterious secrets of trade management and of the marketing of goods, taking men out from the haphazard industrial education which individuals now get, whether in school or in labour itself, which leaves so many of them totally unfitted for anything beyond routine labour under the direction of others.

Education for Leisure.

No mere schemes of Governmental action will ever make a succes without this educational reconstruction. Education for leisure and for the purposes of sensible, well-ordered and æsthetic recreation, covers what we already call the rudiments of a general education. In other words, they should be inspiring and releasing rather than disciplinary and scholastic. Just as music has been found to be a practical human necessity in our camps at present and just as provision for various kinds of social æsthetic recreation seems to be a practical human necessity, so of course these same things continued and extended would constitute a large part of the type of a vocational education preparing for the leisure time of the labourer after the war.

Probably the greatest social waste which exists at present is our failure to detect tastes, capacity, and ability and find for them the channels in which they can operate with advantage to their possessors and with usefulness to others. We either put all individuals through an undifferentiated training—a required uniform training—in the pious hope that it will

catch some of them; or else, under the name of an elective system, we permit individuals to drift along according to their own untrained and unenlightened wishes from moment to moment. We have as yet, I think, absolutely no conception of the possibilities of an education, both with respect to personal happiness and social usefulness, which should engage youths in activities sufficiently varied and sufficiently productive to detect their capacity, needs, and powers.

THE PART OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

The social idealism of the young people of our country has not been genuinely touched and called upon in times of peace, and we have, I think, to admit that one of the features of the war system has been that hundreds of thousands of young men have been brought to view their training and their capacity in the light of social needs and demands. We all know how large are the organized resources of the sciences of physiology, hygiene, medicine, political economy, psychology; how these sciences have been organized and mobilized on a large scale for national use. Now, through this fact, hundreds and thousands of scientific and technical men have learned in an intense way new lessons concerning the social importance of their particular branch of knowledge and skill. There are, for example, over two hundred youths of our country who have been trained in our schools in the science of psychology who are immediately going to have their activities put to actual national use. That is one illustration with which I happen to be personally familiar, but it merely indicates what is going on in all lines on account of the war throughout this country. They have been given a chance to translate specialized knowledge into some direct public and national service. I don't think that if many of the men have a chance to use their specialized learning, their scientific knowledge, or their artistic skill after the war in some constructive form of national service, they will be impelled to withdraw into their former aloof seclusion and continue to carry on their work in the remote over-specialized, over-technical way in which most of us were carrying it on before.

SOME OBJECTIONS.

There is one answer, not exactly a reply, but a rejoinder to some such project as I have endeavoured here to paint in its large outline, and that is the old answer: it is impracticable, for it has never been done. I should like to ask one question: is it practicable to expect a more ordered and a more harmonious and peaceful type of social life in the future except upon the foundation and substructure of an educational system which has been framed on a large scale for this particular purpose? The nations of the world have found the capital and resources, the money by the billion, for the maintenance of the social values and standards of these countries when they were threatened with disintegration by an enemy from without. Is it not absurd to say that the resources and the money may not be made available nationally for a positive and constructive development and ordering of the social values in time of peace?

Whatever mistakes or blunders and defects there have been in our preparation in the last few months, I think it has been demonstrated that it is possible to organize and mobilize the intellectual and moral resources, as well as the financial resources of the nation in a period of national stress. If the educators will take upon themselves the primary responsibility for settling down to a consummation and elaboration of the scheme, I am sure that they will find among the men in science and the men in art, painting, music, and so on, among the statesmen of the country, and among the larger-visioned captains of industry, a kind of co-operative assistance which will enable a plan to be worked out so that we shall not continue inert, unprepared, going on with a policy of patching up and of muddling through till some other social catastrophe, even greater than the present one, shall overwhelm us.

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY *in the Educational Times.*

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

At thirty-seven men looked on Mr. Churchill as a statesman of some achievement. At forty-sevn he is discussed as a politician of considerable promise.

Mr. Churchill's case is perhaps unique. There have been rises even more rapid. There has probably been no fall comparable with his which was not final. If the dramatic proprieties were consulted, this Lucifer should not hope again. In fact, he is hoping again and trying again, for all the world as if he were a Smiles hero. He has served the Crown as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Hussar Colonel, and Minister of Munitions. And, now that he is beginning life again (not from the bottom, but from the top, or somewhere near it), his future is debated with something of the curiosity attaching to some beardless wonder fresh from the Oxford Union.

In the days when Mr. Lloyed George was Limehousing, still more when, on the very eve of the war he led an agitation against our blated armaments, many believed that Mr. Churchill would some day play Elisha to Mr. Asquith's Elijah. The reversion to the Premier's mantle seemed to lie between him and Sir Edward Grey; and Sir Edward Grey had little ambition that way, while Mr. Churchill was understood to be a very Barkis for willingness. There is every indication that Mr. Churchill had familiarised himself with the notion of becoming Mr. Asquith's heir, and perhaps, following the rule of the young men of great expectations looked forward with some impatience to the time when that statesman would go to his own, *i. e.,* "another place."

Undeniably Mr. Churchill went into active training for the part. He affected the eye severe, the mind of formal cut, the wise saws and modern instances of responsible maturity. He emphasied in the strongest possible were the contrast between his own moderation and the sansculottism of Mr. Lloyd George. The more violently the latter swung to the left, the more hevily Mr. Churchill leaned to the

right. He seemed to enjoy the "Ohs" of the Outhwaite no less than the "Hear, hears!" of those who wanted eight and would not wait.

Now and again he used the tones of the strong party man and the sturdy democrat. But generally he preferred to suggest sane Imperialism, defence without defiance, unfrenzied finance, temperate reform, nation before faction. His new austerity never reached a higher pitch than during the Marconi episode. Nothing could be more admirably dramatic than his indignation when called to give evidence before the Committee. How he rated the chairman for taking him away from the King's business about a sordid affair in which he could have no possible interest! The part, like most of Mr. Churchill's was perhaps a little overdone, but at any rate he made it quite clear to the public that one Radical Minister at least need not fear cross-examination as to his investments. The advertisement may have been quite unintentional. But it was legible as a sky-sign.

It would be interesting to know what ironical memory of that time remained with the Prime Minister when he strained the allegiance of some of his Conservative followers by inviting Mr. Churchill to join his Government as Minister of Munitions. Equally pleasant would it be to share Mr. Churchill's inmost thoughts on the subject and Mr. Asquith's also. But if he cannot explore these forbidden regions, we may at least discuss how it happens that Mr. Lloyd George was able to take this particular form of revenge, and how perhaps the best-equipped intellectually of all our younger men of affairs was watched with some anxiety in a post for which the modest abilities of Dr. Addision were considered adequate.

There is no doubt about Mr. Churchill's capacity. None but a first-rate man could survive so many first-rate mistakes. Had he not been, despite his reverses, formidable as an opponent and valuable as a collaborator, Mr. Lloyd George would assuredly not have encountered severe criticism on his behalf. Nor would Mr. Asquith have thrust him forward from one great position to another.

After the first raptures he failed to get on with most Liberals. He did not get on with Lord Fisher. It was perhaps not surprising that he did not get on with the Coalition Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy a post for senile wisdom rather than for young pushfulness. Whether the Army did not get on with him, or he with the Army, only he and the Army may say. But, the grand gesture with which he went to the trenches was too soon followed by a return to Westminster to suggest entire compatibility.

The whisper goes round that at the Ministry of Munitions Mr. Churchill failed to get on. His ability is not questioned, but he has that type of masterfulness which irritates while it fails to subdue. Of his elations with the War Cabinet less is said possibly because there is nothing to say. When the late Lord Salisbury received a suggestton that he should offer a place to Lord Randolph Churchill and thus silence that distinguished outcast's oppsition, he replied in parable. "I once had," he said, "a carbuncle on my neck. If I can avoid another I shall do so" The Prime Minister has no such fear of Lord Randolph's son and peehaps he is right. It may be that adversity has taught Mr. Churchill some lessons which he failed to master in the days of his facile success.

It would be to the advantage of the country, no less than of Mr. Churchill, if he could master them. "For the love of Christ, gentleman," said Oliver Cromwell once to the Parliamentarians, "I beseech you to think it is possible you may be mistaken." Mr. Churchill's infallibility is one of his chief weaknesses. Taking all knowledge as his province, he cannot help being superficial, but then every statesman necessarily is that, and it must be said for Mr. Churchill that he will learn more of a subject in six months than most politicians do in six years. Unfortunately he will assume that, as soon as he is bored with learning, there is nothing more to learn, and will imagine that he is fit to undertake, not merely the general control which is the business of a political chief, but the technical ordering of his department. He goes up in an aeroplane, down in a submarine, "swots" Mahan and a few textbooks, and considers himself qualified to be quite other than a Sir Joseph Porter as Ruler of the King's Navee.

Mr. Churchill should also learn not to be too much in a hurry. I have not in mind here those speeches of his concerning "rats" and "legitimate gambles" and "victories such as the world has never seen" though in each case he would have been wiser to await the event. I am thinking more of his personal record. He would have got on faster at a slower pace. He has been too busy looking after his next jop to think enough of the one in hand. Had he been content to work steadily and play the game according to the rules, had he, so to speak, masticated life instead of wolfing it in great gulps, he would probably have gone quite as far, without going back at all. But with him impatience assumes almost the aspect of nervous disease. He does not know how to wait. He is a victim of the "Do it now" craze— "it" being more or less undefined. The sedative influence of principle he is unhappily denied. Indeed, there is a good deal of his great ancestor's century in Mr. Churchill. "Restless, unfixed in principles and place, in power unpleased, impatient of disgrace," he has rather close affinity with those brilliant but rather ineffective men whose weaknesses and talents Dryden has described with such unerring touch in "Absalom and Achitophel."

Few men fight successfully against their natures, and though Mr. Churchill is still young, as statesmen go, it is probable that time, though it may tame, will

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not reform him. It is a pity, for he has the stuff, if it were not marred, to make a second Chatham, and half a dozen Pitts. As things are, he is perilously near a second edition of his father, with just the difference due either to some added tenacity in himself or some increased tolerance on the part of the public. E. T. Raymond in the *M. A. B.*

SELECTION.

HISTORY OF SHIVAJI 1667—1670.

(*Continued from page 218 in our last issue.*)

SHIVAJI'S PEACE WITH THE MUGHALS, 1668.

The Maratha chief, on his part, was not eager for a war with the imperialists. For some years after his return home from Agra, he lived very quietly, and avoided giving any fresh provocation to the Mughals. He wanted peace for a time to organise his government, repair and provision his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis of Janjira. As early as April 1667 he had sent a letter to the Emperor professing terror of the imperial army which was reported to have been despatched against him, and offering to make his submission again and send a contingent of 400 men under his son to fight under the Mughal banners.

Aurangzib had taken no notice of this letter. Some months later Shivaji made another attempt. He entreated Jaswant Singh to be his intermediary in making peace with the empire. He wrote to the Maharaja, "The Emperor has cast me off, otherwise I intended to have begged the task of recovering Qandahar with my unaided resources. I fled [from Agra] in fear of my life. Mirza Rajah, my patron, is dead. If through your intercessoin I am pardoned I shall send Shambhu to wait on the Prince and serve as a *mansabdar* at the head of my followers wherever ordered."

Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam jumped at the offer and recommended Shiva to the Emperor (9th March 1668), who accepted the proposal, and thus a peace was made which lasted nearly two years. The Emperor recognised Shivaji's title of Rajah, but so far as we can judge did not restore to him any of his forts, except Chakan. For instance, Kalian-Bhimri continued in the hands of the Mughals. For the next two years Shivaji lived at peace with the Mughal government. The English factory letters at the close of 1668 and in 1669 describe him as 'very quiet" and as Aurangzib's vassal, [bound] to do whatsoever is commanded by the Prince." His relations with Bijapur also were pacific. "The country all about (Karwar) at present is in great tranquillity. Shivaji keeps still at Rajgarh, and though as yet there is no peace made between this king (Adil Shah) and him, yet both refrain from committing any acts of hostility against one another" (F. R. Surat, vol. 105, Karwar to Surat, 16 Sep. 1668.) Still latter on, 17th July 1669 the English traders at Hubli speak of "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." (*Ibid*)

In fact, during these three years (1667-69), he was busy framing a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundations of his government broad and deep, and have remained an object of admiration to after ages.

In terms of the agreement with the Mughals. Sambhuji was sent to the Viceroy's court at Aurangabad with a Maratha contingent of 1,000 horse, under Pratap Rao Gujar. He was created a Commander of of Five Thousand again and presented with an elephant and a jewelled sword. Jagirs were assigned to him in Berar. Half his contingent attended him at Aurangabad, while the other half was sent to the new jagir to help in collecting the revenue. After some months Shambu was permitted to go back to his father on account of his tender age. For two years the Maratha contingent lived in the jagir, "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion," as Sabhasad frankly puts it.

But the peace was essentially a hollow truce on both sides. Shivaji's sole aim in making it was to save himself from the combined attack of three great Powers and to recover his strength during this respite from war. Aurangzib, ever suspicious of his sons, looked upon Muazzam's friendship with Shiva as a possible menace to his throne, and he secretly planned to entrap Shivaji a second time, or at least to seize his son and general as hostages.

The rupture, inevitable in any case, was precipitated by financial causes. Retrenchment of expenditure had now become a pressing necessity to Aurangzib, and he ordered the Mughal army in the Deccan to be greatly reduced. The disbanded soldiery took service with Shiva, who had to find employment for them. Another ill-judged measure of imperial parsimony was to attach a part of Shiva's new jagir in Berar in order to recover the lakh of Rupees advanced to him in 1666 for his journey to the Court. The news of it reached Shivaji when he had completed his military preparations. He sent a secret message to Pratap Rao to slip away from Aurangabad with his men. The other half of the contingent fled from Berar at the same time, plundering the villages on the way!

Sabhasad, however, tells us that Aurangzib wrote to his son to arrest Pratap Rao and Niraji Pant, the Maratha agents at Aurangabad and attach the horses of their troops, and that the Prince, who had learnt of the order beforehand from his court agent, revealed it to Niraji and instigated the Marathas to escape, while the emperial order arrived a weak afterwards, when it was too late to carry it out.

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III. War Renewed, 1670.

This rupture with the Mughals occurred in January 1670, or a month earlier. On 11th Dec. 1669, the Emperor received a despatch from the Deccan reporting the desertion of four Maratha captains of Shiva's clan (*biradari*) who had entered the emperial service. Aurangzib soon set to strengthening his forces in the Deccan. On 26th January 1670 an order was sent to Dilir to leave Deogarh in the Gond country and hasten to Aurangabad. Daud Khan was ordered to arrange for the defence of his province of Gujrat and then go to Prince Muazzam's assistance. Many other officers were transferred from North India to the Deccan.

Shivaji opened his offensive with grest vigour and immediate success. His roving bands looted Mughal territory, and he attacked several of the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzib by the Treaty of Purandar. "The emperial officers in command of most of these forts fell after fighting heroically. Every day the Emperor got news of such losses. But some of these places defied capture by reason of the strength of their fortifications and abundant supply of war material."

His most conspicuous success was the capture of Kondana from Udri Bhan, its Rajput *qiladar*, (late in January). Assisted by some Koli guides who knew the place well, one dark night Tanaji Malusare, with his 300 picked Mavle infantry scaled the less abrupt hill side near the Kalyan gate by means of rope ladders and advanced into the fort, slaying the sentinels. The alarm was given; the Rajputs stupefied with opium, took some time to arm and come out; but in the meantime the Marathas had made their footing secure. The garrison fought desperatly, but the Mavles with theis war cry of *Hara! Hara! Mahadev!* carried havoc into their ranks. The two chiefs challenged each other and both fell down dead, after a single combat. The Marathas, disheartened by the fall of their leader, were rallied by his brother Suryaji Malusare, opened the Kalyan gate to their supporting columns, and took complete possession of the fort. The rest was butchery. Twelve hundred Rajputs were slain, and many more perished in trying to escape down the hill side. The victors set fire to the huts of the cavalry lines and the blaze informed Shivaji at Rajgarh, nine miles southwards, that the fort had been taken. He mourned the death of Tanaji as too high a price for the fort, and named it Singhgarh after the lion heart that had won it.

Early in March, he recovered Purandar, capturing its *piladar*, Razi-ud-din Khan. A few days later he looted the village of Chandor, seizing an elephant, 12 horses and Rs. 40.000 belonging to the imperial treasury, then entered the town and and plundered it, while the imperial *qiladar* was shut up in the fort. At one place, however, he met with a repulse. The fort of Mahuli (in North Konkon, 50 miles N. E. of Bombay) was held for the Emperor Manohar Das Gaur, the nephew of Rajah Bhithal Das of Shah Jahan's time. Shiva invested it in February 1670 and attempted a surprise at night. He sent up 500 of his men to the ramparts by means of rope ladders. But Manohar Das, who "used to be on the alert day and night," fell on the party, slew most of the men and hurled the rest down the precipice. Shivaji then raised the siege, turned to Kalian Bhimri and recovered it after slaying its *thanahdar* Usbak Khan and driving out the Mughal outpost there. Ludi Khan, the faujdar of Konkan was wounded in a battle with the Maratha forces, defeated in a second encounter, and expelled from district. The Mughal *faujdar* of Nander (?) fled away, deserting his post.

About the end of this year (1670) Mahuli too was lost to the Emperor. Manohar Das, conscious of the inadequacy of the garrison and provisions of the for- to repel another attack of the supeiror Maratha forces resigned his post in despeir of getting reintorcements. Shivaji seized the opportunity, and about December captured Mahuli, slaying it new commandant Alawaddi Khan and his garrison of 200 men.

The only officer who made an attempt to uphold the imperial prestige in the Deccan was Daud Khan Quraishi, who had been second only to Dilir Khan during Jai Sing's Maratha compaign of 1665. Leaving the province of Chandesh in charge of his son, Daud Khan arrived at Ahmadnagar on 28th March, 1670. Six days afterwards he set out with 7,000 cavalry to expel Shiva's men who were roving near Parnir, Junnar and Mahuli. They evacuated Parnir and Junnar and retired before him, while he occupied these two posts. Meantime Shivaji has invested three Mughal forts in that region, and Daud Khan left Junnar to relieve them. But at the approach of hit Van (under his gallant son Hamid and Ludi Khan) the Marathas raised the sieze and fled away, and the Mughal advanced division fell back on their main body.

Soon afterwards, these two officers went with a detachment and destroyed an old fort which the Marathas were repairing on the frontier, 20 miles from Mahuli. Towards the end of April, Daud Khan himielf marched to Mahuli. The Emperor in open court highly praised Daud Khan for his spirit in invading the enemy's country, regardless of the smallness of his own force, and therby creating a usual diversion of Shivaji's attention. The hot whether evidently put an end to the compaign soon afterwards.

In the *Modern Review*.

(*To be continued.*)

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